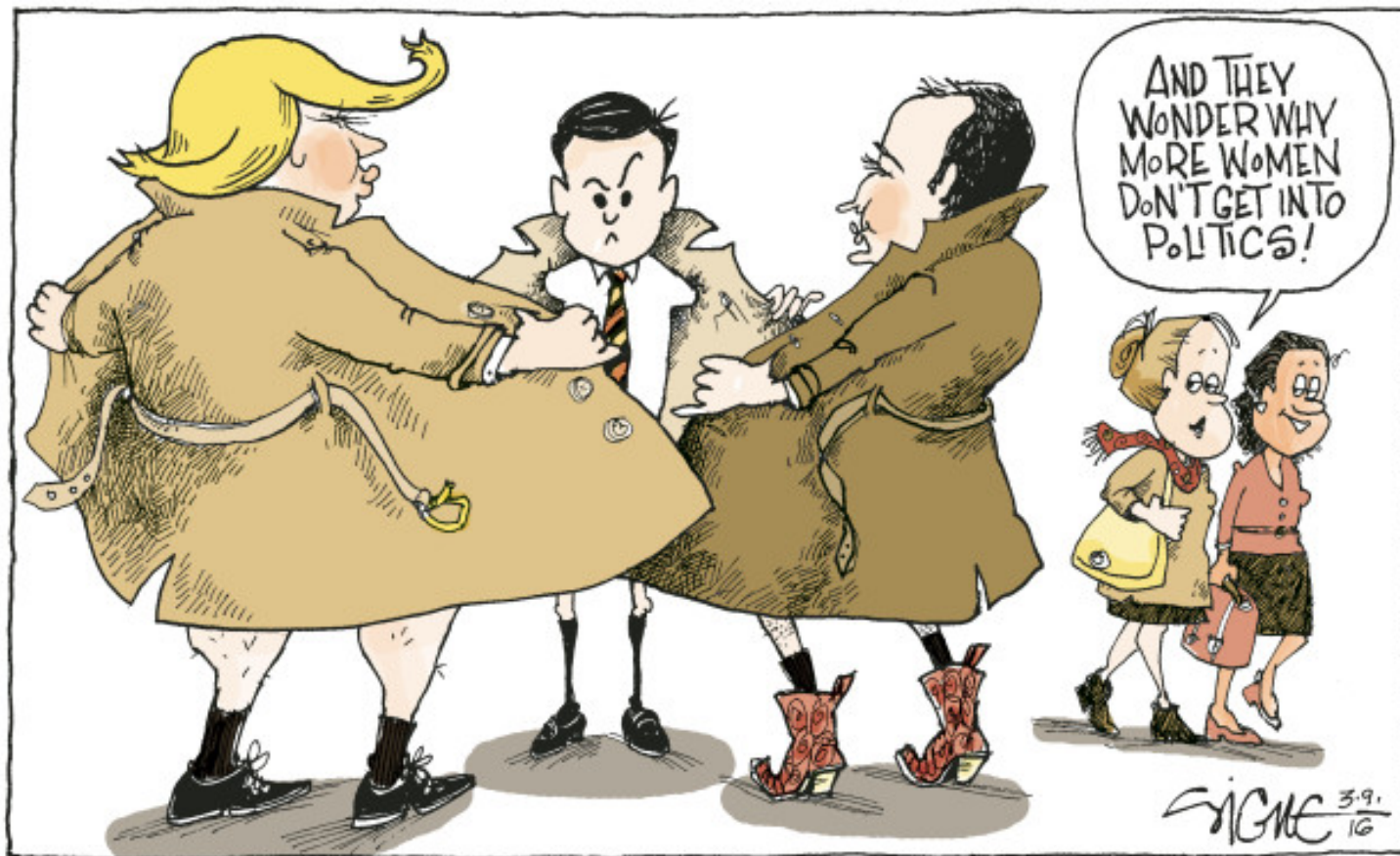


Closing the Great Political Divides

March 2018

Shauna Shames, Rutgers-Camden



“Out of the Running” (NYU Press, Jan 2017)



Shames 2012-14 LPS-PAS



“Law & Policy School Political Ambition Study”



“Not where it should be”



CAWP: Proportions in Congress



House of Representatives



17.9%
Women



82.1%
Men

Senate



20.0%
Women



80.0%
Men

Sources

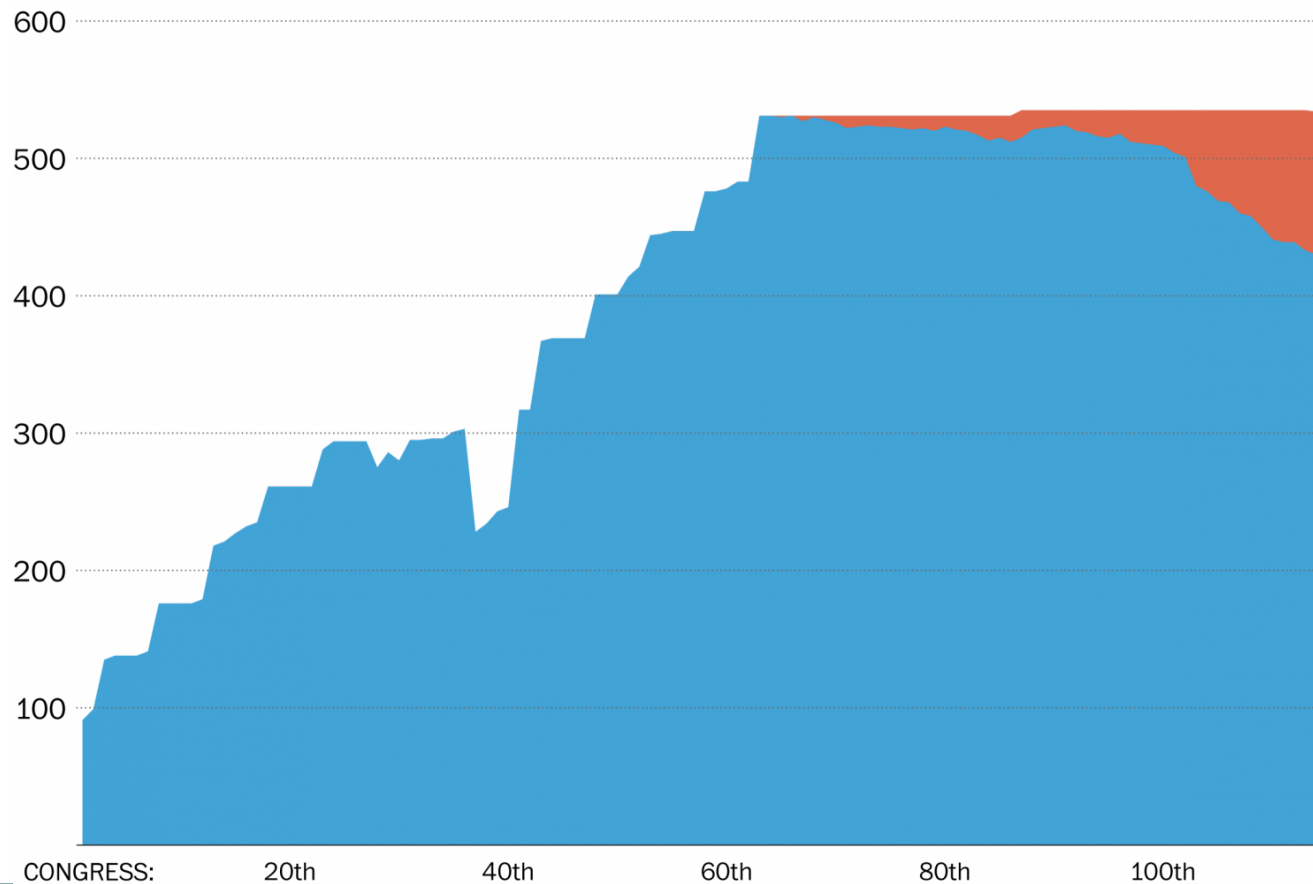
Center for American Women and Politics, "Women in the US Congress 2013." Center for American Women and Politics (2013).

WashPost: Women in Congress Over Time

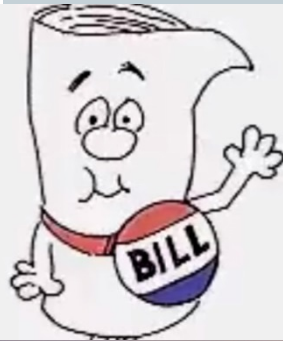


Gender composition of Congress over time

Male Female



Why Do We Care?



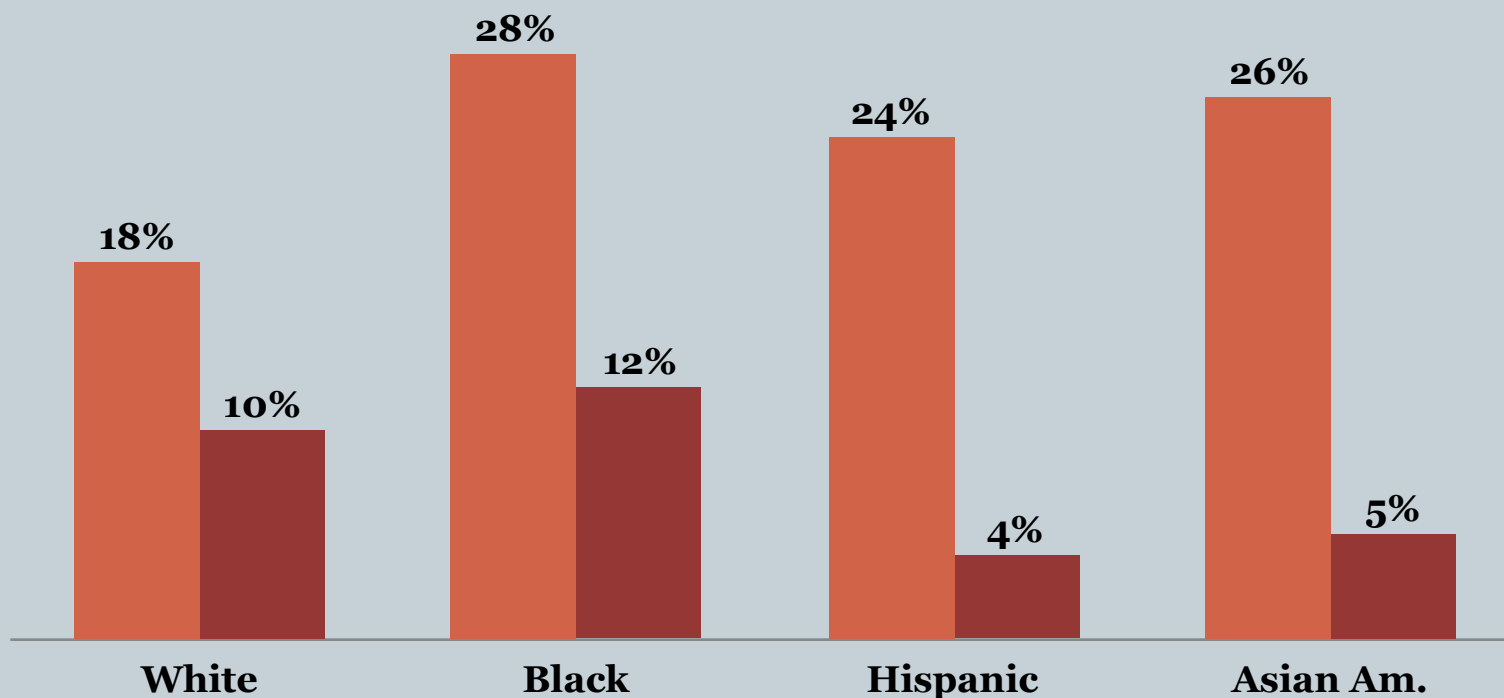
Ambition & Politics



“Ambition lies at the heart of politics.” ~ Joseph A. Schlesinger (1966)



All Ambitious, But Not Equally Pol. Ambit. (LPS-PAS survey data)

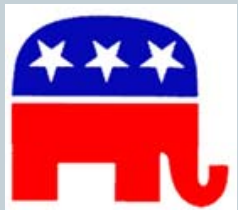
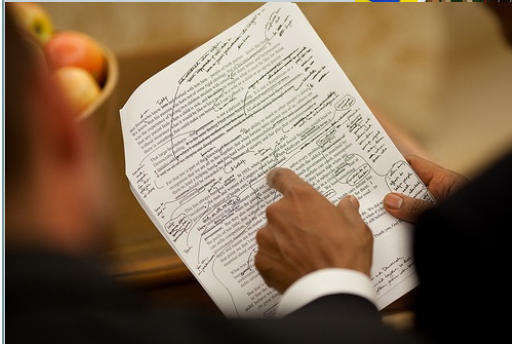


“Have you ever thought seriously of running for office?” (% Yes)

Structural & Other Barriers



Candidate Deterrence Effects: Costs Outweigh Benefits (for everyone)



On Money in Politics



- *“[Politics is] a necessary evil, perhaps... Unrealized potential.... I feel that people in politics aren’t courageous enough... Who has a politician’s ear?... People with money.”*
~ **“Jasmine,” black female law school student**
- *“I... [would] risk capture by going into a political process as corrupted, and sclerotic, and generally putrescent as the American one, so full of money, really, that it ends up attracting people who understand that and don’t care, or the few silly idealistic ones who think they can change the system from within.”*
~ **“Dave,” white male policy school student**

3-Part Argument



CANDIDATE DETERRENCE EFFECTS



1. Everyone

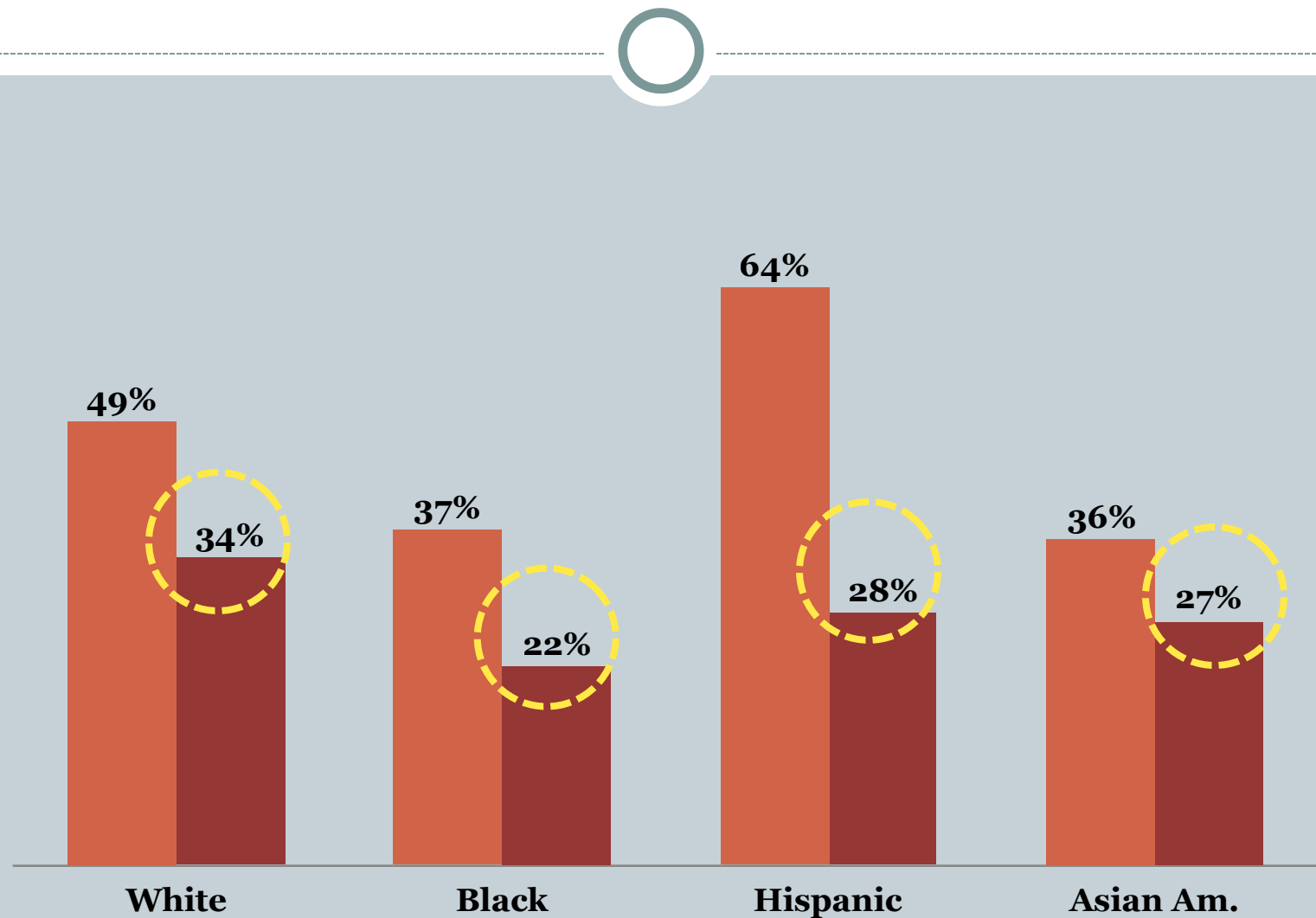


2. Women



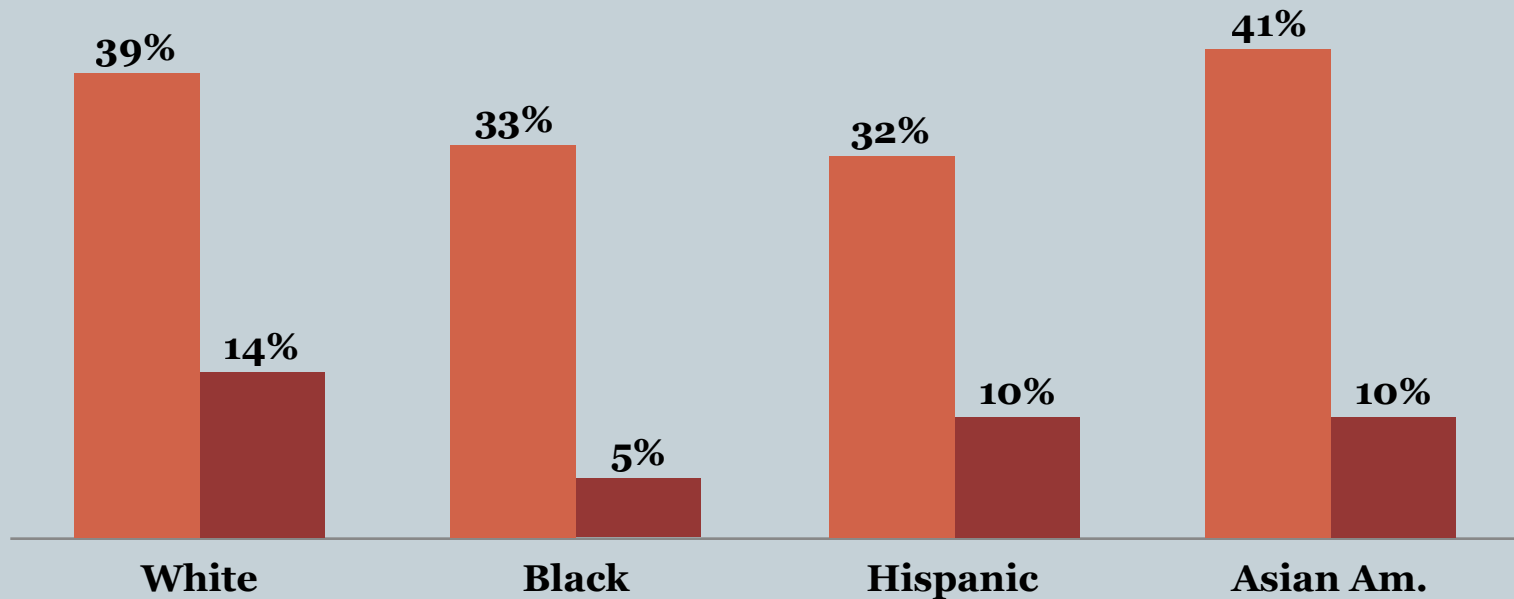
3. Women
of color

Believe Politics Solves Problems



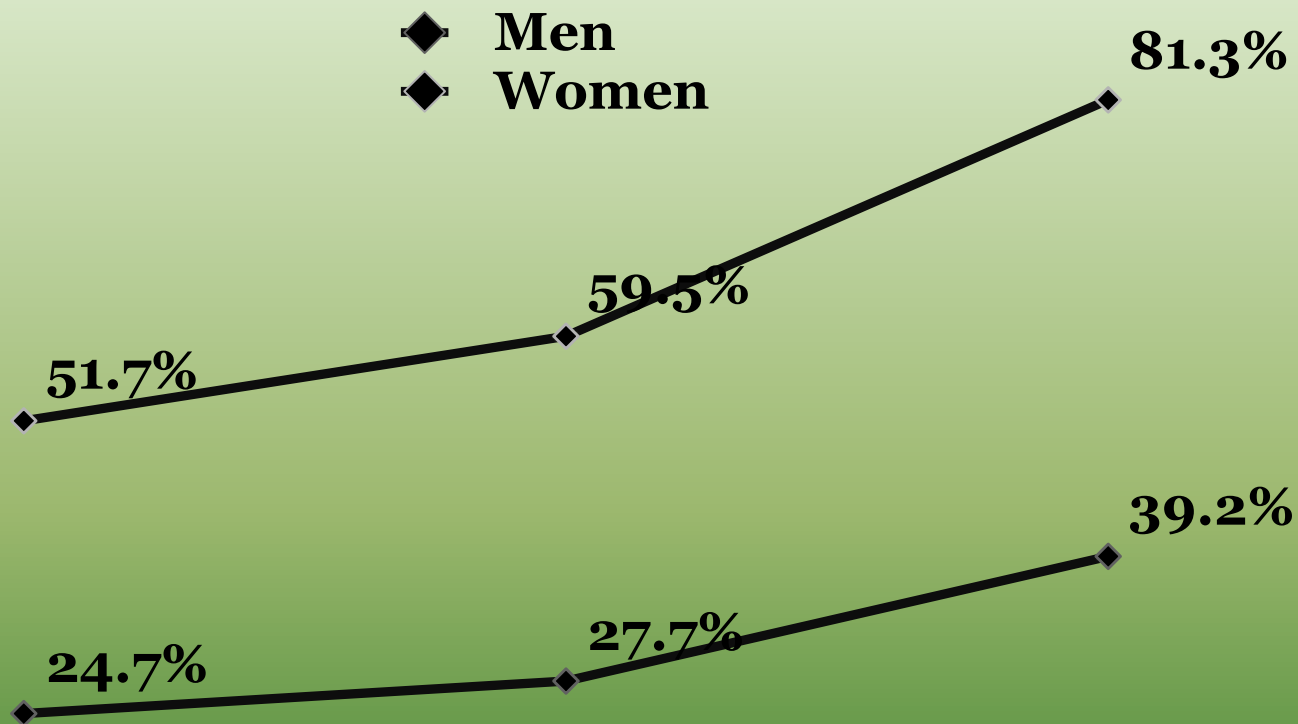
"The problems I most care about can be solved through politics" (% agree/agree strongly)

Perceived Gender Discrimination by Media



% Saying H. Clinton was Treated Fairly by the News Media in 2008

Predicted Probabilities: Expecting Discrim.



No Experience of Discrim.

High Experience of Discrim.

Women of Color Most Deterred

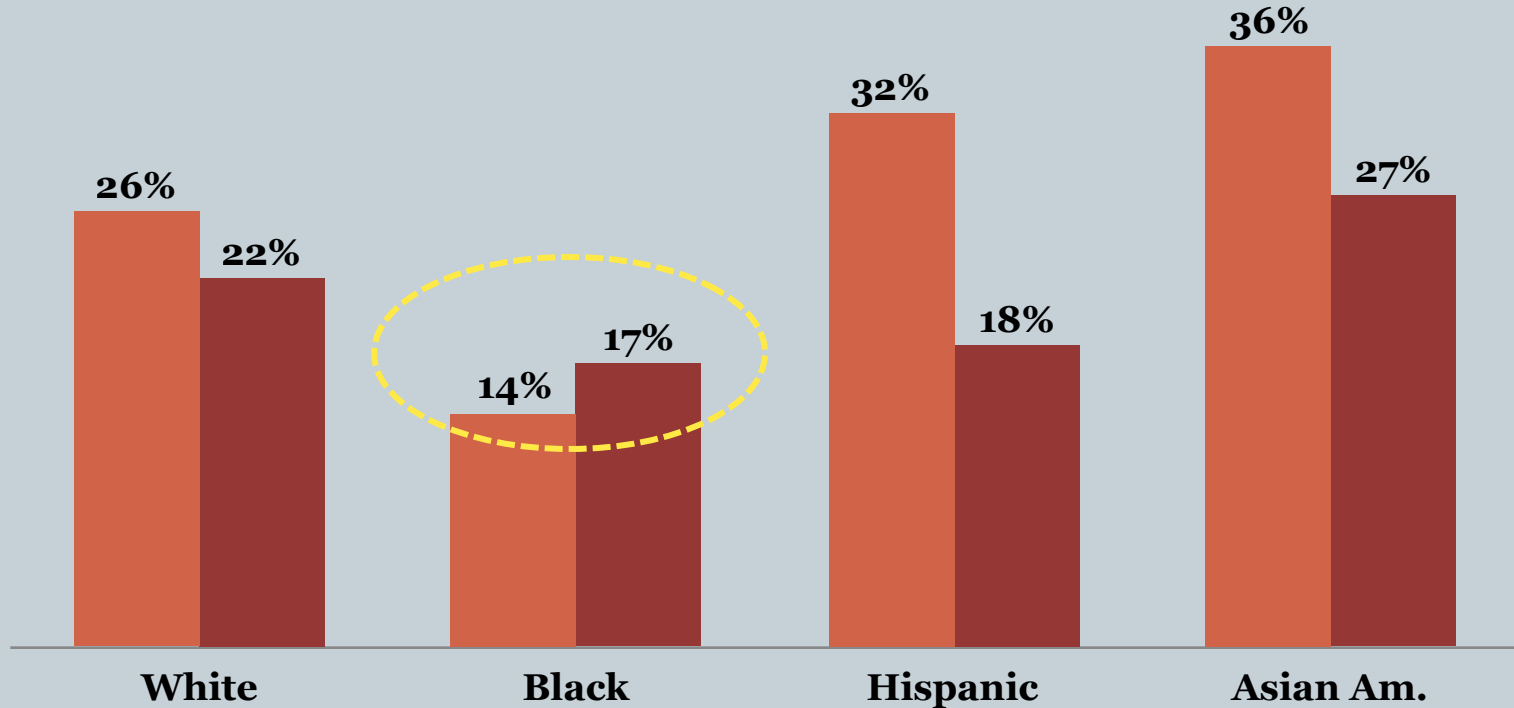


CANDIDATE DETERRENCE EFFECTS



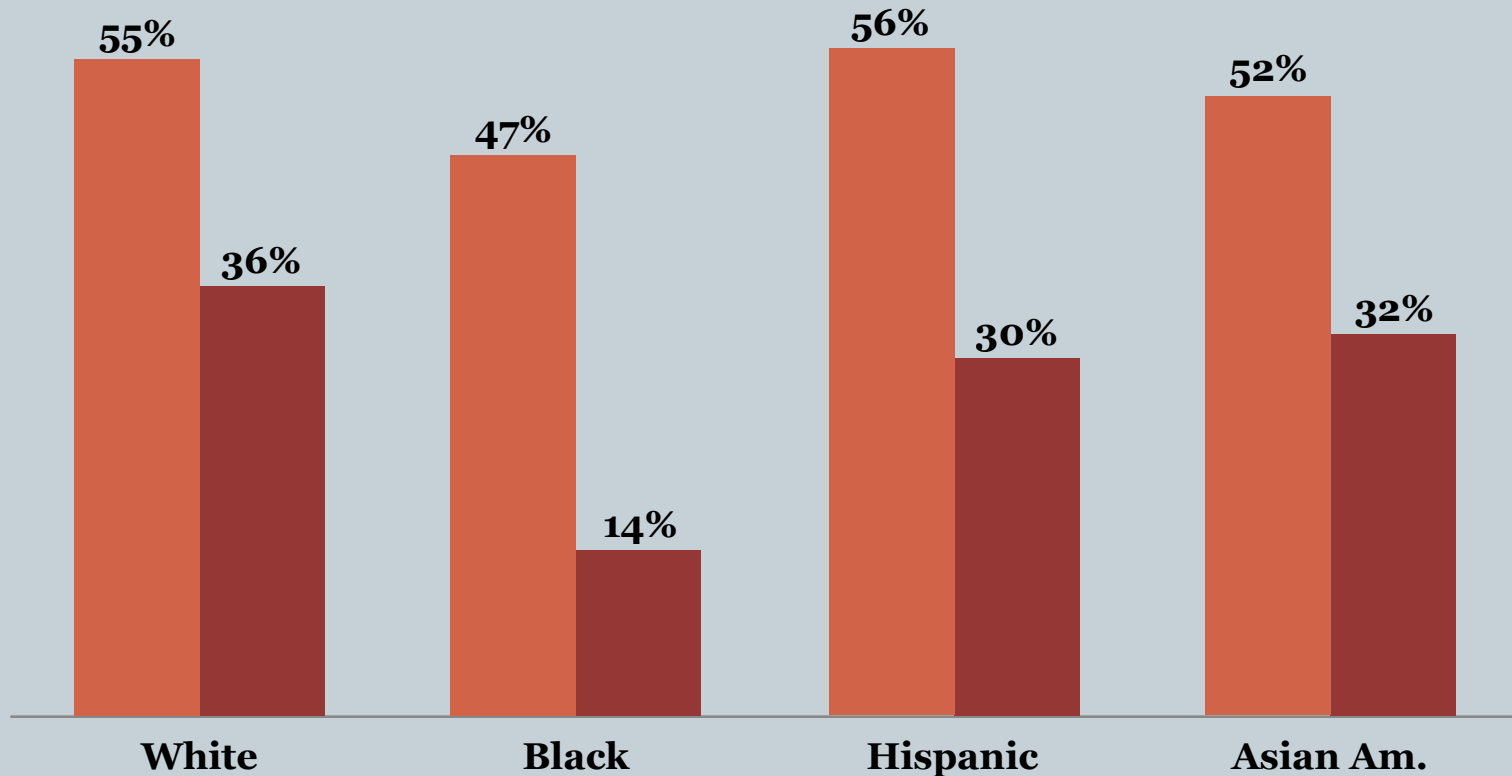
3. Women
of color

Trust in Government, by Race



“You can trust the government to do what’s right most of the time” (% agree/strongly agree)

Perceived Race Discrimination by Media



% Saying B. Obama was Treated Fairly by the News Media in 2008

“Jasmine”: Racial Antenna



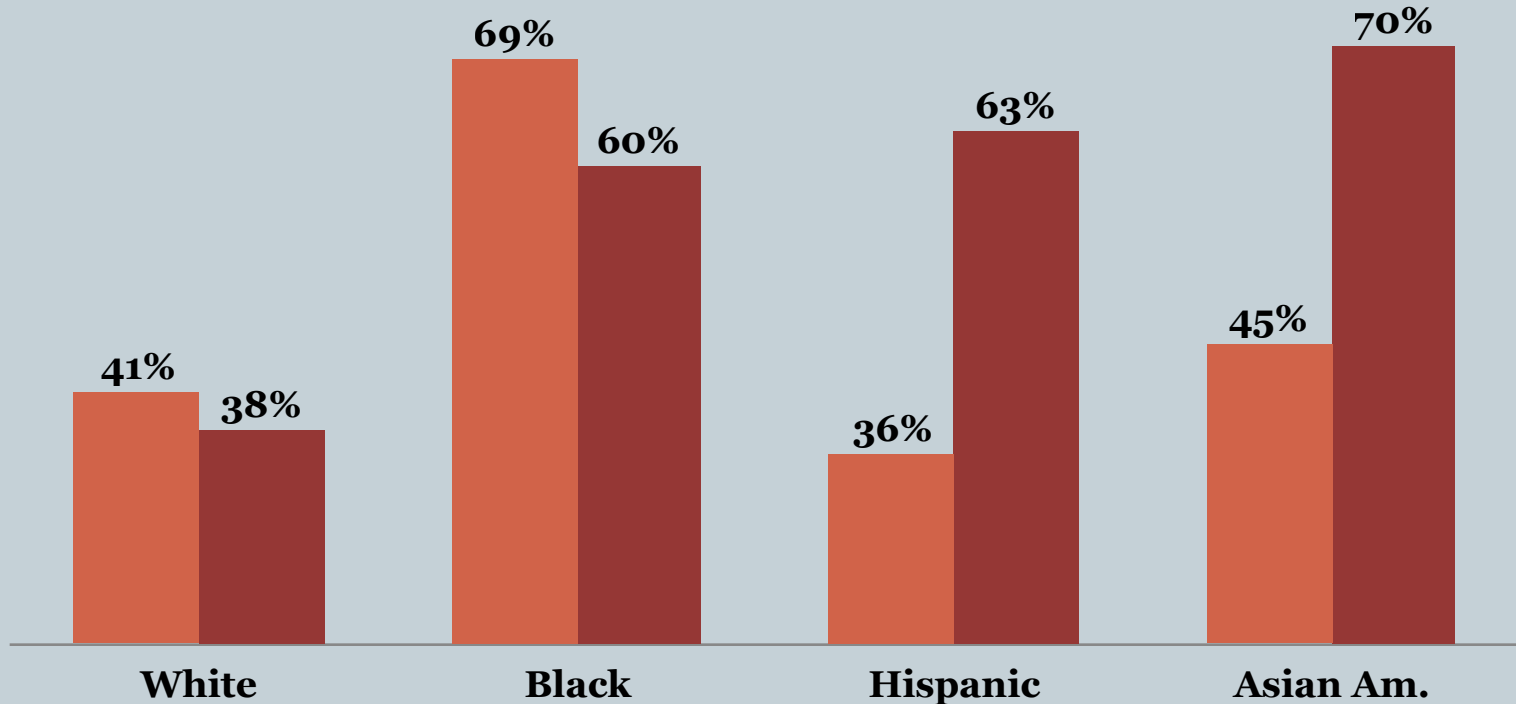
- **I: As you go through the world, do you kind of expect that there are people out there that will treat you in a different way because of your race or your gender?**
- **J: “Oh, absolutely (laughs). Absolutely. I mean I’m not naïve to that fact. I certainly don’t try to find a racial incident or a gender incident in every interaction I have with people. Are there times though when I feel there could be a racial or gender incident? Absolutely. *It’s like the antennae is up enough so that if something happens it’s like wait a minute*; but it’s not up so much that I’m actually seeking something if the station is clear. But I absolutely feel that out in the world I will deal with people who have stereotypes about people of color or women.”**
(emphasis mine)

“Tamika”: Greater Comfort around Black People



- **SS: You’ve talked about this wariness. Do you think the wariness affects your behavior? Like around white people?**
- “It’s kinda hard. You feel like you have. (Pause, tearing up). It’s like you have a weight on your shoulders and so... like I feel like even as a woman too I can sort of let my guard down and be who I actually am when I’m with a group of black people, so I don’t know. It definitely changes it. I feel like I have to put on less of a front – [I don’t have to] be: ‘I’m at Harvard Law School. *I’m* Tamika Jackson. I’m going to conquer the world.’ I can just be myself. It definitely changes it.”

Politics as Financially Risky?



% Saying They are Expected to Contribute \$\$ to Family of Origin

Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire

